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social sciences, vol. V, no. 3. (Iowa City: The University. 1918. Pp. 73.)

In every state the granting of public relief in the sparsely settled communities or the small towns has become a problem of considerable importance. In most localities the work is done very unsatisfactorily, largely because of the political control of the departments of poor relief and the utter absence of modern standards of social work. In a number of states serious efforts have been made to meet this trying situation, and in Iowa an experiment of some years' standing has obtained good results. The so-called "Iowa plan" consists of a combination of public and private agencies, that is, of the county or the city relief department with the local charity organization society or kindred organization. Funds are provided from both sources, although most of them are appropriated by the public agencies. The system has been tried in a number of the leading towns and counties with such results as the following: the practical elimination of politics in the appointment of trained workers; careful investigation of applicants for relief; constructive work with families; better care of dependent and delinquent children; improvement in administration of mothers' pension law; reduction in cost of material relief; and increase in many forms of useful social service.

The plan, however, involves a number of dangers. There is a possibility of the development of dictatorial policies and of making the economy issue a dominant one. Furthermore, it may result in lessening the sense of public responsibility. Nevertheless, the gains that have been made are unmistakable and the personnel of the workers is almost certain to consist of a much higher type than formerly. Hopeful results should, therefore, be expected. It is believed that the plan represents a distinct contribution to method in the field of applied philanthropy.

GEORGE B. MANGOLD.

### Socialism and Co-operative Enterprises

*Le Socialisme contre l'Etat.* By EMILE VANDERVELDE. (Paris: Berger-Levrault. 1918. Pp. lvi, 174. 3 fr.)

The essential parts of this book were written before the war. The author is one of many socialists who had already taken alarm at the growth of state powers. As a student and even more as a responsible politician of long experience he had noted the alliance between capitalism and governments. This in his view is *l'Etatisme*, but in no sense is it socialism. He lays great stress on the technical and fiscal reasons for this dangerous enlargement of state activity. All this he sets down as sharply opposed to the real claims of the working class.

For years states have taken over monopolies because the money

was needed as well as the political influence. France is not a good manager of her tobacco and match monopolies, but she makes them an easy and safe source of revenue.

As war has forced great industries under state control heaping up meantime debts that generations cannot pay, the authorities will cling to every form of industry which promises fiscal help and political influence. M. Vandervelde aims to distinguish *cette étatisation* with its "*dictature économique*" from socialism. To the author, there is little hope for socialism unless it becomes genuinely democratic and free from a too centralized bureaucracy.

His main thesis is how these actual powers of the state can be captured by the working classes. It is assumed that nowhere, not even in Switzerland, have the workers got any real control over the capitalistic forces. With the full weight of laws and traditions behind them, these forces have easy skill to use and to adapt the most advanced reforms. State socialism is little more than the taking over this and that particular enterprise from the private capitalist and giving it into charge of a capitalist *class* in control of government. Socialists of every shade agree that this control must be won over by the proletariat. To the syndicalist despising parliaments, a revolution is necessary as a first step. To opportunist socialism, the battle is to be won through the give-and-take of political action.

Between these two the author moves with perfect temper and with an intellectual toleration which never forsakes him. No socialist of prominence has more of the statesman and the scholar. He disagrees from Guesde as he does from the extreme syndicalist Pouget and from the pliant politician Millerand, but he insists that these are not only to be heard, but heard *at their best*. There is never a polemical trick to get advantage of an opponent.

In the present volume, the reader is a little surprised that the orthodoxies of Marx and Engels seem so essential to his purpose. He makes much of what these high priests meant by the state. They were the very "*contre-pied to l'étatisme.*" They were not for the omnipotence but for the abolition of the state. Engels, explaining Marx after his death, speaks of those free and equal associations among producers that should merely *use* the state for their own ends:—use it until they got the power, after which "*rélequer la machine de l'Etat au Musée des antiques.*" The vulgar idea of socialism identifies it with what Germany at once became after 1914, where we see the triumph of "*la dictature écon-*

omique." In this sense he says all Germans have become practicing socialists. Because Dr. Liebknecht is *not* this, he went to prison. The author believes that a great deal of what has gone to the state since the war will at its close go again to private hands, *but* side by side with these returns, the state will hold on to certain great industries and will create others of its own. This is *l'Etatisme* rooted in authority and rigorously governing the people. To free itself from this incubus is the task of socialism.

A long introduction deals with socialism under its reformist, syndicalist, and democratic aspects.

In the remaining 164 pages we see the struggle to secure political power (part first) and in part second, the democratic socializing of the means of production—to save individual liberty from "*l'Etat-pouvoir*" held and controlled by a master class.

The state *now* is the organ of a class. It "diffuses among this class monopoly privileges." The democratic socialism of M. Vandervelde is to destroy this capitalist monopoly while the privileges are passed on to the whole of us.

Decentralization is to play a great part in this change. It is claimed that not only Germany but Switzerland had begun this process. Napoleon wanted the Bank of France to be in the hands of the government but not too much so—*mais qu'elle n'y soit pas trop*. This is Vandervelde's position with a definite program of limitations regional and independent in local management. His best illustrations are from Swiss experience of the government railways.

This study gains in interest and in importance because of the character and experience of the author. Even more perhaps it gains because its thesis is but one of many signs of revolt against the actual state.

JOHN GRAHAM BROOKS.

NEW BOOKS

DRAKE, P. H. *Democracy made safe*. (Boston: LeRoy Phillips, 15 Ashburnham Place. 1918. Pp. 110. \$1.)

Although the author of this book does not use the word socialism, his program follows rather closely that of the many popular socialist writers, particularly those of the naïve, idealistic type. The mode of procedure is beautifully simple. All that is necessary is for everybody to agree to socialize industry and abolish money and profits, then to set a day; and on that day, presto! the new social order commences. The arguments are quite clearly and concisely presented, but readers who are familiar with radical literature will find little that is new or original.

G. L. ARNER.